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AUTHOR Heppner, P. Paul; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the professional counseling literature of the past 45 years and examines the implications of these studies for the future roles of university counseling centers. The research reviewed consists primarily of investigations of the following issues: (1) the problems students experience and present to counseling centers; (2) student usage of counseling centers; (3) the functions and services of counseling centers; and (4) the theoretical problems defining and describing the roles of counseling centers. Parallels between the changing roles of counseling centers and concomitant changes in the field of counseling psychology are drawn. The literature review is divided into three time periods (1932-55, 1955-70, and 1970-80), which reflect major changes in the roles of counseling centers. The final section identifies patterns in the research and discusses implications. (Author/CS)

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Holding Up the Mirror:
Changing Roles of the University Counseling Center

P. Paul Heppner and Gary W. Neal

University of Missouri

M.K. Hamilton

Southern Illinois University

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Abstract

University counseling centers have the continuous task of making decisions about which of a multitude of potential roles to adopt and which services to provide at a given time. This paper reviews the professional literature which directly pertains to or reflects on the changing roles and functions of university counseling centers; specifically, the review examined studies which investigate: (a) the problems students experience and present to counseling centers, (b) students' awareness and utilization of counseling centers, (c) the perceived appropriateness of problems and functions for counseling centers, (d) the type of services which counseling centers provide, and (e) the theoretical position papers which define and describe the roles and functions of counseling centers. Specific conclusions are made regarding the research within three time periods: 1932-1955, 1955-1970, 1970-1980. In addition, it is also clear that economic, political, and social forces as well as developments in counseling psychology have all affected centers in the last 45 years. Implications of the reviewed research are discussed in terms of planning future directions of counseling centers as well as in regard to future research directions.

Holding Up the Mirror:

Changing Roles of the University Counseling Center

University counseling centers have the continuous task of making decisions about which a multitude of potential roles to adopt and which services to provide at a given time. These decisions are often mediated by numerous factors: budgetary and economic factors, staff interests, political climate on the campus, changing consumer demands and needs, external professional issues in the field of counseling psychology, and national as well as world events. As we enter a new decade, predictions are being made about what the future will bring. Many people are predicting "hard times" economically, politically, socially, and psychologically for the 1980's. The question becomes, what will the 1980's hold in store for university counseling centers and how will they respond?

All too often decisions are made without knowledge of what has occurred in the past. One small but frequent example of this is the surprising number of professional articles written on various topics without a thorough understanding of earlier research related to the topic in question. Another example is university administrators making policy and budgetary decisions affecting various agencies and professions without being aware of the historical roots and empirically based findings of the profession. Future decisions about the roles and functions of university counseling centers should be based (a) on current needs/preferences of counseling services recipients, and (b) on the empirical findings and methodological advances accrued from earlier research.

The purpose of this paper is to review the professional literature which directly pertains to or reflects on the changing role and function of university counseling centers. In general, the paper will (a) review the literature

primarily within the last 45 years to clarify research findings related to the changing functions of university counseling centers, and (b) examine the implications of the past research for the future roles of university counseling centers. Specifically, the research reviewed will consist primarily of investigations which have examined: (a) the problems students experience and present to counseling centers, (b) students' awareness and utilization of counseling centers, (c) the perceived appropriateness of problems and functions for counseling centers, (d) the type of services which counseling centers provide, and (e) the theoretical position papers which define and describe the roles of counseling centes. In addition, the authors will draw parallels between the changing roles of counseling centers and a variety of external influences, such as concommitant changes in the field of counseling psychology as well as various social forces. The intended outcome is twofold: (a) the previously distinct areas, when reviewed as an aggregate, will illuminate the events which have affected the changing roles and functions of university counseling centers, and (b) the conclusions of the review will have implications for conducting future research as well as planning future directions of university counseling centers.

The research which reflects on the changing roles and functions of university counseling centers is divided into three time periods (1932-1955, 1955-1970, 1970-1980) which comprise the first three sections of the paper. These time periods reflect major changes in the roles of counseling centers, although the transition from one period to the next is not as precise as the specific years would imply. The final section identifies patterns in the research and discusses implications from the earlier sections.

1932-1955: The Beginnings

There is some evidence that college counseling dates back to the early

1900's (Lloyd-Jones, 1949). The earliest separate unit organized to offer educational and vocational guidance seems to have been the University Testing Bureau at the University of Minnesota in 1932 (Hedahl, 1978). Before that decade ended, similar services were provided to students at other institutions such as the University of Chicago (Cowley, 1964), University of Illinois (Bailey, Gilbert, & Berg, 1946), Ohio State University (Thrush, 1957) and the University of Missouri (Embree, 1958).

The early research is replete with data and observations about the problems of various university students. For example, several books appeared which typically would employ an array of references to substantiate the existence of a broad range of problems in college students, including personality, educational, occupational, financial, and health related problems (e.g., McCaul, 1939; Strang, 1937; Williamson, 1939; Wrenn & Bell, 1942). Researchers documented that a substantial number of students at various colleges and universities reported having psychological problems (e.g, Blos, 1940; Chassell, 1940; Farnsworth, 1953, Fry, 1947; McKinney, 1945). By asking students to identify their problems on the Mooney Problem Check List (Mooney, 1941), other investigators found that adjustment to college work was a major source of stress for most students (Congdon, 1943), although important differences were found acrosss classes (Stone, 1948). In short, it seems clear that the early writers were able to conclude that students did indeed have problems, and consequently they needed help.

Subsequently, both student personnel and counseling grew in the late 1930's and 1940's. Books appeared with titles like How to Counsel Students (Williamson, 1939) and Counseling Techniques in College and Secondary School (Strang, 1937). The role of counseling was broadly defined as helping students

remove a variety of obstacles of problems (e.g., personality, educational, occupational, financial and health) so that students could maximally benefit from course instruction (Williamson, 1939). Later counseling was broadened and defined as: "That part of modern education referred to as counseling is one of the personalized and individualized processes designed to aid the individual and to learn school subject matter, citizen traits, social and personal values and habits, and all other habits, skills, attitudes, and beliefs which go to make up a normal adjusting human being" (Wiliamson, 1950, p. 2). Counseling was seen as education in and of itself.

Environmental factors impacted the role of developing counseling services, and during this period World War II was a major influence. For instance, during the war it was suggested by one author that the "one yardstick" by which to measure the effectiveness of counseling programs was their contribution to the winning of the war (Smith, 1942). And after the war, probably the biggest impetus for university counseling centers was the need to help World War II veterans adjust to the university environment in the 1940's (Embree, 1950; Low, 1968; Pepinsky, Hill-Frederick, & Epperson, 1978). In fact, the Veterans Administration guidance program has been called "The major contributing factor to the expansion of college counseling services" (Embree, 1950, p. 471).

During these times, however, just exactly what counseling was seemed unclear. As late as 1951, Wrenn wrote "there is little doubt that the word 'counseling' is as much misused and misunderstood as any other single word in the educational field" (p. 57). Often times college counseling was used interchangeably with student personnel (Wrenn, 1951). Interestingly, the field of counseling itself was in disarray (Wrenn, 1977), and was suffering from an identity crisis just as counseling centers seeem to have been floundering for a definitive role. There is evidence to suggest that the

mental health services were delivered by a wide range of professionals at this time, which may have also contributed to the confusion. Surveys in 1950 showed that mental health services were rendered by physicians in 31% of the colleges, by psychologists in 22%, by student personnel workers in 19% and by psychiatrists in only the very large universities (Mueller, 1961).

Likewise, it was unclear who utilized the early counseling centers and researchers attended to that question. Two early studies found men proportionally overrepresented among clients (Raphael, 1936; Abrahamson, 1954), and one showed women more likely users (Carroll & Jones, 1944). Estimates of the proportion of students utilizing counseling centers ranged from 4.7% in a new center (Carroll & Jones, 1944), to fully 60% at an established center (Form, 1953, 1955). Additional data suggests that more underclassmen were seen by centers than were upperclassmen (Abrahamson, 1954; Form, 1953).

In regard to the representativeness of counseling center users, some early studies suggested that the users were not atypical students when compared to the entire student population (Raphael, 1936; Schneidler & Berdie, 1942). Later, however, Gaudret and Kulick (1954) reported that while vocational-educational clients were not significantly different from non-clients, personal-social clients seemed to be more poorly adjusted than the general student body.

In the late 1940's several writers noted a trend toward increased professionalism within college student personnel work (Cowley, 1949; Darley, 1949). Hedahl (1978) suggests that the "need for specific skills and training for professional counseling paved the way for the establishment of separate administrative units in an increasing number of universities and colleges" at about this time (p. 27). Books began to appear within the student personnel profession like Trends in Student Personnel Work (Williamson, 1949) and Student Personnel Work in Counseling (Wrenn, 1951). The counseling role began to be

contrasted rather than incorporated with other roles within student personnel, such as with job placement (Merrill, 1954; Wrenn, 1951), discipline (Evans, 1954; Williamson & Foley, 1949; Wrenn, 1951), residential living (Callis, 1954), admission (Carlson, 1954), and financial assistance (Ritsy, 1949). In addition several major changes occurred in the field of counseling psychology (Wrenn, 1977), which more clearly defined the domain of counseling.

In addition to the expressed counseling functions on university campuses a sampling of the professional journals provides another source of information. A perusal of professional counseling journals of this period revealed an emphasis on occupational issues and secondary education. The major journal during that time was appropriately titled Occupations (later The Personnel and Guidance Journal). In addition, it is replete with articles about the activities of the counselor, such as "Adopting counseling to C.C.C. needs" (Sloper, 1940), "Counseling Indian Youth" (Pelleltieri, 1941), and "Indiana Colleges rationalize recruiting" (Sembower, 1941). Likewise, a mutltitude of articles described counseling skills, such as "Counseling for Wartime Jobs" (Smith, 1942), "Do you know this counseling aid?" (Steinmetz, 1947). "Training for guidance workers: Camp counselors" (Kenyon, 1951). In short, while the function of counseling seemed to be quite broad as evidenced by the work of several major authors at that time, the primary role revolved around occupational and vocational counseling.

In summary, it appears that during the period,1932-1955 the roles and functions of university counseling centers were not clearly or consistently defined. Surveys indicated that students were indeed facing a wide range of problems, and there was a clear need to help students. Initially, university counseling psychologists were viewed as helping students with any problem or obstacle. Later, the funciton of counseling was broadened still further

and was perceived as education in and of itself. A great deal of confusion ensued about what counseling was or should have been. Likewise the field of counseling psychology was floundering for an independent professional identity. An analysis of the early journals, however, suggested that a primary role of the univeristy counselor was vocational counseling, a role which was later supported financially by the Veteran's Administration.

Later, in the early 1950's a number of developments occured which enhanced the identity of counseling psychologists, such as adoption of specific titles by the Veterans Administration and the American Psychological Association adoption of ethical quidelines, and the establishment of the Journal of Counseling Psychology (Wrenn, 1977). By the early 1950's the role of university counseling became more clearly defined, and was seen as a separate function within the student personnel profession. While the counselor's functions involved personal, education and vocational counseling, the latter seemed to be most central to the counselor's identity. Within this time period, the major impact on the univeristy counselor's role and functions seems to have been the funding from the Veteran's Administration and organizational developments in the counseling psychology profession.

1955-1970: The Transition and Consolidation

The late 1950's and entire 1960's were a period of growth in higher education (Hedahl, 1978). It was a time influenced by Sptunik and the space race, of which one outcome was the National Defense Education Act of 1958 which called for more trained counselors (Wrenn, 1962). Counseling centers grew not only because of increased enrollments and the increasingly impersonal nature of university student-faculty relationships, but also because of greater involvement in graduate training (Hedahl, 1978). Not surprisingly, the roles and functions of university counseling centers changed to meet the new demands.

In the mid 1950's D.E. Super published a position paper (Super, 1955) outlining the transition from vocational guidance to the philosophy, scope, and methods of counseling psychology. Books appeared which emphasized the need for personal adjustment counseling of college students, such as Mental Health in College and University (Farnsworth, 1957), and Counseling for Personal Adjustment in Schools and Colleges (McKinney, 1958). Subsequently, a series of articles resembling position papers advocating new roles for counseling centers on university campuses appeared in the early 1960's (e.g., Danskin, 1965; Nygreen, 1962; Paar, 1962). Based on the content of these articles it appears that a major reassessment of the role and function of the university counseling center occurred. The focus of the new roles was for more integration of the counseling center into the university environment (student personnel, faculty, students), including activities such as personal counseling, teaching, consultation, preventative mental health services, and wholistic student development. Evidence seems to suggest that counseling centers did, indeed change. A survey in 1965 of the 1,155 colleges and universities granting bachelor's degrees lead researchers to conclude that counseling centers which offered a broad range of services had developed in over two-thirds of the institutions in higher education (Oetting, Ivey, & Weigel, 1970). At the end of the sixties, an article appeared outlining "recommended practices" for university counseling centers (ACHA-ACPA, 1969). The recommended practices as well as the descriptive information provided by Oetting, et al., (1970) seemed to formalize the diverse roles for university counseling centers.

Perhaps stimulated by the theoretical discussions of what a counseling center "ought" to be, research was begun in the late 1950's which attempted to

examine perceptions held by university personnel and students regarding the role and function of the university counseling center. In line with the theoretical papers, university counselors in the late 1950's and early 1960's began to perceive personal adjustment counseling as their most appropriate activity (Thrush, 1957; Warman, 1960). There appears to have been a discrepancy, however, between the university counselors' ratings of problem appropriateness and the types of services they offered, which was the focus of several other studies in the 1960's. One study (Goertzen & Strong, 1962) delineated counseling practices in 45 small institutions (less than 2,000), another (Clark, 1966) surveyed the counseling centers of 36 large universities (more than 10,000). The first study found that 100% of the surveyed centers engaged in curriculum advising, 83% in vocational counseling, and 78% in personal counseling. The second study found the following frequency of services offered: 71% of the major counseling centers engaged in vocational counseling, 67% in educational and occupational information, and 60% in personal counseling. It was also noted in both studies that personal counseling was being provided more frequently than before, but nonetheless, less frequently than was vocational counseling. Two other studies were conducted in the 1960's which assessed the present policies, practices, and facilities of university counseling centers (Albert, 1968; Nugent & Pareis, 1968). Neither of these studies examined the relative frequency of the kinds of services being delivered to students, but rather seemed to descriptively report the increased range of services.

Students, on the other hand, tended to rate vocational-educational counseling as the most appropriate problem for university counselors (King & Matteson, 1959;

Warman, 1960). Thus, students not only rated vocational counseling as the most appropriate function for university counseling centers in the 1960's, it seems that the centers were more suited for such problems in the kinds of services they had available to students. But this role was not totally consistent with the perceptions of university counselors nor with the theoretical articles regarding the roles of university counseling centers which appeared during this time. Warman (1960) attributed the differential perceptions of the counselor's role by various university groups (students, faculty and student affairs staff) to a "communication gap", and suggested that counselors needed to orient and educate others about the counselor's new role.

In this period researchers not only continued to examine the needs and problems of students, but also began to assess the resources available to students. Three studies were conducted after 1955 (DeSena, 1966; Hartman, 1966; Koile & Bird, 1956) which in essence confirmed earlier research using the Mooney Problem Check List and found that freshmen students were most concerned with adjustment to college work and routine. In the 1950's and 60's another group of studies were conducted which attempted to assess students psychological adjustment. In general, investigators found a high percentage of students (66%-75%) who reported having personal problems (Rust, 1960; Rust & Davie, 1961), as well as a substantial number of students who showed serious psychological problems on various assessment instruments (Smith, Hausell, & English, 1963; Weiss, Segal, & Sokol, 1965).

Several investigators have examined where students turn for assistance when they are faced with problems. Most researchers approached the questions from a speculative point of view, asking students where they think they would go for

help or who their preferences for help would be (e.g., Cole & Ivey, 1967; Donk & Oetting, 1967; Koile & Bird, 1956). The earliest study (Koile & Bird, 1956) found that the most frequent (40%) preferred source of help was "no one" by entering freshmen. Counselors were preferred by 14% of the students, and friends by 6%. Other evidence suggested that students (freshmen through seniors) with personal-social problems preferred to talk with friends, roommates, parents, and boyfriend/girlfriends (Cole & Ivey, 1967; Donk & Oetting, 1967). Preferred resources for educational-vocational problems were reported as instructors and advisors (Cole & Ivey, 1967; Donk & Oetting, 1967). Professional counselors were consistently ranked low as preferred sources of help (Cole & Ivey, 1967; Donk & Oetting, 1967), and rated low in terms of the frequency of times contacted as compared to other resources (Armstrong, 1969).

Given the research on the types of problems which students reported experiencing and their utilization of various sources of help, what kinds of student problems were presented to university counseling centers in this period? No studies were conducted in the 1950's on the types of problems students' presented. One study which analyzed trends in clients presenting problems at university counseling centers found that in the 1960's more clients entered with vocational problems than personal problems (Duguid, Note 1). This research seems to support the findings from the problem appropriateness research which suggested that students perceived the counseling center as being most appropriate for vocational problems.

Approximately midway through this time period, counseling psychologists began to investigate to what extent students were aware of the university counseling center, and subsequently to what extent were the counseling services being utilized by students. One study (Minge & Cass, 1966) found that 14% of the student population of a large university had not heard of the counseling

center, and that only half knew of its location. Sex differences appeared in that only four percent of the women were unaware of the center, yet 19 percent of the men did not know of the counseling center. Friends were the main source of information about the center among those who knew of it. And not surprisingly those subgroups who were most aware of the counseling center had more accurate information about it.

Studies of utilization during this time sought to clarify questions raised by earlier research regarding who uses counseling centers and when. Seven percent of the students at one university (Minge & Cass, 1966), and 13% of the freshmen at another (Berdie & Stein, 1966) were found to be utilizing their counseling centers. Other research also found freshmen to be more likely to utilize counseling centers than other students (Baker & Nidorf, 1964). Two studies found utilization followed temporal patterns with heaviest use early in the academic year, particularly in the first half of the first semester (Baker, 1963; Baker & Nidorf, 1964).

The majority of utilization research in this period, however, examined differences between users and non-users of counseling services. A potpouri of findings resulted. Users were variously found to report more problems on the Mooney Problem Check List (Dolevs, 1964) to be more intuitive, introverted, and less judging on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Mendelsohn & Kirk, 1962), to have more elevated MMPI profiles (Cooke & Kiesler, 1967; Parker, 1961), to have more doubts about their self-worth, as shown on the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (Minge & Bowman, 1967), to have higher College Board scores (Cartwright, 1963), to have poorer academic achievement (though not differing in scholastic aptitude) as well as being less vocationally certain (Meadows & Oelke, 1968), to be less self-directed (Apostal, 1968), and to be more anxious

or poorly "adjusted" on a number of measures (Cartwright, 1963; Goodstein, Crites, Heilbrun, & Remple, 1960; Heilbrun, 1960; Roth, 1963). Similarly, differences were reported between personal problem and vocational-educational problem clients (Goodstein, et al., 1960; Heilbrun, 1960; Minge & Bowman, 1967), and between self-referred and staff-referred clients (Collier & Nugent, 1965). Another group of studies, however, failed to find significant differences between clients and nonclients (Armstrong, 1969; Berdie & Stein, 1966; Bigelow, Hendrix & Jensen, 1968; Matteson, 1958; Rosenkrantz & O'Halloran, 1965). It appears that the representativeness of users of counseling centers, like the problems which they present, may very considerably from campus to campus.

In summary, in this time period (1955-1970) a wider range of studies were conducted which reflect upon the changing roles and functions of university counseling centers. In fact, several studies directly assessed various groups' perceptions of counseling center roles and functions on particular campuses. During this period there was a major reassessment of the university counseling center role. On the one hand the field of counseling psychology was broadening its base from vocational guidance to also include functions such as personal counseling and preventative mental health services. Concomittantly, university counseling center staff began perceiving their functions in a similar vein, and many position papers appeared which described and supported the new functions. In reality, however, counseling centers across the nation delivered more vocational services than personal counseling services. This discrepancy between the desired roles by counseling center staff and the type of services they delivered may have been due to lag time in implementing their new functions or possibly related to student demands. Students perceived the counseling center as being most appropriate for vocational problems, and came to counseling centers most frequently for such problems. This is not to imply that students

had only vocational problems, because research indicated that students did indeed have psychological problems and difficulty adjusting to college work. Instead most students kept their personal problems to themselves or talked with a peer. It appeared that the representativeness of those who utilized counseling services as compared to those students who did not, varied considerably from campus to campus.

The research during this period suggests that the functions of university counseling centers were expanded in the late 1950's and early 1960's, and there was an increased emphasis on personal counseling. Given the parallel developments in the field of counseling psychology and added impetus from various social forces (e.g., Sputnik, increased enrollments), university counseling centers grew and became more integrated into university campuses. While the counselor's role involved personal, vocational, and educational counseling as well as consultation and outreach, the primary function still seemed to be vocational counseling.

1970-1980: Expanded Programs, Contracted Budgets

The seventies brought some new social forces. With the student unrest of the late 1960's and pressure on universities to be more relevant to student social concerns, administrators turned to counseling services to be more relevant to the goals of higher education (Foreman, 1977). Thus, there was an increased emphasis on not only affecting more students but also on influencing a larger part of students' lives. In the mid-seventies with projections of reduced student enrollments, higher education found itself in the process of retrenchment (Foreman, 1977). Inflation became a growing concern, and suddenly financial budgets for counseling centers across the nation indicated cutbacks.

In the early 1970's a series of articles again resembling position papers appeared which reinforced and extended the new roles advocated in the 1960's (Caldwell, 1970; Ivey & Weinstein, 1970; Magoon, 1973; Matheny, 1971; Morrill & Hurst, 1971; Warner & Hansen, 1970; Weinberg, 1968). These articles suggested that university counseling centers should also be more involved with ecological assessment and social engineering of the university environment to enhance student's development. Robert D. Brown was commissioned to write a monograph on the role and function of student development in higher education (1972) as part of the American College Student Personnel Association's planning task force: Tomorrow's Higher Education (THE) project. Brown also stressed expanded roles for university counselors; assessing, facilitating, and evaluating students' developmental status, consulting, environmental control, teaching, and research. The Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education aimed four task forces to expanding the counselor's role to include environmental interventions to improve mental health services on Western campuses (WICHE, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c, 1973). In surveying these changes, Magoon (1973) speculated that broader counselor roles would continue because of economic reasons as well a growing sense of professional responsibility.

Not surprisingly, parallel ideas were being developed in the field of counseling psychology, with one notable outcome being the introduction of the "Cube" (Morrill, Oetting & Hurst, 1974). Later in the 1970's, two articles appeared which focused on the role of the counseling center in relationship to other student services agencies (Crego & Wendland, 1974) and to the university as a whole (Warnath, 1972). While these articles focused on the role of the counseling center, their emphasis was on organizational and political issues within the university system during economically hard times.

In addition, research on the appropriateness of various counseling center

functions continued. University counselors continued to perceive personal adjustment counseling as more appropraite to their role than vocational-educational counseling across universities (Gelso, Birk, Utz, & Silver, 1977; Heppner, Hamilton, & Michaels, in review; Kohlan, 1975; Resnick & Gelso, 1971; Wilcove & Sharp, 1971). Other research suggests that some counseling psychologists seem to have lost interest in vocational counseling (Gelso, et al., 1977). For example, investigators have found that doctoral training in counseling psychology does not focus much on vocational counseling (Schneider & Gelso, 1972), that doctoral level counselors view vocational counseling as dull (Graff & McLean, 1970), and that vocational counseling is relegated to less experienced counselors (Graff, Rague, & Danish, 1974). In the 1970's students also began to perceive personal adjustment counseling as being more appropriate for university counselors, although still not the most appropriate function. For example, one study found that students (as well as faculty, student personnel staff, and university counselors) perceived personal counseling as more appropriate than a decade earlier (Resnick & Gelso, 1971). Other research found students' rating personal counseling as a highly appropriate counseling center function (Gelso, et al., 1977; Heppner, et al., in review); vocational counseling, however, was still ranked by students as the most appropriate function (Benjamin & Romano, 1980; Gelso, Karl, & O'Connell, 1972; Gelso et al., 1977; Heppner, et al., in review; Resnick & Gelso, 1971; Strong, Hendel, & Bratton, 1971; Wilcove & Sharp, 1971).

During the 1970's two lines of research examined variables affecting students' perceptions of counseling center functions. One line of research examined the impact of the name given to the mental health center service as well as the name given to the helping professional. Two studies found that the name given to the university counseling service had a significant effect on the

perceived problem appropriateness by students (Salisbury, 1972; Sieveking & Chappell, 1970). One study found that students perceived counseling psychologists as being more appropriate sources for personal problems than college counselors, advisors, or high school counselors (Gelso & Karl, 1972).

The second line of research sought to examine the determinants and correlates of students' and clients' perceptions of their appropriateness ratings. The first study done in the late 1960's found that more freshmen than senior women rated the counseling center as more appropriate for academic and vocational counseling, which was interpreted in part as freshmen had fewer resources in a new environment (Kinnane, 1967). Another study found that (a) perceived knowledge of the center was related to higher student ratings of appropriateness for personal counseling, and (b) clients' ratings of the appropriateness of personal, vocational, and educational counseling was directly related to the type of problem they brought to the counseling center (Gelso, Karl, & O'Connell, 1972).

Given the increasing perceived appropriateness of personal counseling, what kind of services were counseling centers in turn providing? Only one study assessed the reported frequency of services being rendered. That study (Anderson, 1970) found that across universities with varying enrollments, 96% of the responding counseling centers reported offering counseling for personal problems, while only 91% offered services for choice of major field. One other investigation (Elton & Rose, 1973) found that the size of the institution was a salient factor in the type of services offered.

As in the previous fifteen years, considerable research was conducted in the 1970's to assess the kinds of problems students were experiencing and the types of resources for handling such problems. Several studies were conducted which attempted to survey student concerns through more elaborate assessment

instruments than in the 1960's. After reviewing several studies Houston (1971) concluded that academic aspects of student life caused the most stress, a finding which was confirmed in a later survey study (Hummers & DeVolder, 1979). Two other studies, however, reached slightly different conclusions. Snyder, Hill, & Derksen (1972) found that depression, choice of major, and studies were indicated as the most common problems. Kramer, Berger, and Miller (1974) found that the most pervasive problems were (a) vocational choice and career planning, and (b) personal happiness. Academic concerns was the third most commonly cited problem. A closer analysis of these studies reveals some important differences. First, Hummers and DeVolder (1979) sampled only freshmen; Snyder et al., (1972) examined largely sophomores. These studies may not have had a representative sample of student concerns since there is some empirical evidence which would suggest that students' problems differ across classes (e.g., Stone, 1948). Second, even though Kramer, et al., (1974) randomly sampled students from all classes, they did not analyze their data by class which may have eliminated important class differences. Third, the environmental presses that were operating during the 1970's were quite different throughout the decade, which may also account for some variability in ratings between studies. For example, 1974 was economically a difficult year for the country. The social forces at the time might have influenced a broad range of students to be concerned about vocational planning as evidenced by the Kramer, et al., of 1974.

In short, the research assessing student problems of the 1970's indicates a wide range of problems (personal, academic and vocational), each varying in emphasis at different times. Additional research of the 1970's also examined

the perceived resources available to students. This research examined where students actually went with their problems as opposed to stating preferences to hypothetical problems which was the research methodology of the 1960's (Armstrong, 1969; Christensen, Birk, Brooks, & Sedlacek, 1976; Hummers & DeVolder, 1979). Results, however, have been essentially the same as the 1960's (save Christensen & Magoon, 1974); students seek out other students, boyfriends/girlfriends, and parents for assistance with their problems. Similar to a decade earlier, professional counselors were again ranked low as preferred sources of help (Hummers & DeVolder, 1979) and rated low in terms of which resource was actually contacted (Christensen et al., 1976; Hummers & DeVolder, 1979).

The proportion of students who were aware of counseling services was again assessed, with results indicated that from 25 to 50 percent of students were ignorant of counseling services (Benedict, Apsher, & Morrison, 1977; Hudesman, Wiesner, & Waxman, 1976; Kramer, Berger, & Miller, 1974; McMillin, 1972; Paul & Crego, 1979). Benedict, et al., (1977) replicated the sex differences identified by Minge and Cass (1966), finding that females were relatively more aware of the center than were males. In a related study, Snyder et al., (1972) reported that among those students who knew of the counseling center, 28% had obtained their information about the center from first hand contact, 18% received it from a friend who had been there, and 54% reported information only from hearsay. The newest study in this area (Benjamin & Romano, 1980) assessed student and faculty awareness of the availability of 33 specific services, and found that a large number (e.g., 26%-85%) of their students (non-counseling center users) responded with "do not know" regarding the availability of various services.

Undoubtedly the number of students who report being unaware of counseling

services was disconcerting, as well as discrepancies in the rated appropriateness of various problems by different university groups. A number of investigators have subsequently examined the impact of various types of information upon student perceptions of counseling centers. One consistent finding is that an array of techniques (e.g., brochures, letters, in-vivo presentations) all increase the amount of information that students have about a counseling center (Bigelow, et al.; Duckro, Beal, & Moebes, 1974; Gelso & McKenzie, 1973; Nathan, Joanning, Duckro, & Beal, 1978). The impact of the additional information about the center, however, is less clear. Some investigators found that written information positively changed students' perceptions of problems appropriate for counseling (Bigelow, et al., 1968; Duckro, et al., 1974), others found only oral information changed these student perceptions (Gelso & McKenzie, 1973), and other investigators found no perception changes regardless of the manner in which the information was presented (Nathan, et al., 1978). Despite these efforts to modify student perceptions, it appears that few centers systematically evaluate the impact of their publicity, and that word-of-mouth communication from satisfied users is still a major contributor to client knowledge of counseling services (Paul & Crego, 1979).

In the period of 1970-1980, relatively fewer studies appeared which examined the utilization patterns of counseling centers, but those that did appear were more sophisticated than were those in the previous decade. The research on client utilization seemed to suggest that the percentage of students utilizing any particular counseling center varies, ranging between 10% and 25% (Benedict, Apsler, & Morrison, 1977; Kirk, 1973; Sharf & Bishop, 1973). More females than males utilized the services, and also tended to come in earlier

(Sharp & Kirk, 1974). Some research suggested that there were no differences between users and nonusers of counseling services (e.g., Rossman & Kirk, 1970; Kirk, 1973; Sharp & Marra, 1971), although other research indicated that clients reporting personal-adjustment problems may have been more troubled than nonusers or users with vocational concerns (Galassi & Galassi, 1973; Lacy, Frank, & Kirk, 1976; Sharf & Bishop, 1973).

In summary, it appears that during the time period between 1970-1980, there was more concensus among university groups regarding the roles and functions of university counseling centers, although there still was some divergency. Several studies when viewed as an aggregate reflect the changes within the counseling center's role on university campuses. Perhaps the biggest impetus to change were the budget reductions in higher education as well as the new concepts from counseling psychology on ecological management. While there seemed to be more agreement on the appropriateness of personal counseling, university counseling center staff (as well as counseling psychologists in general) now also were enlarging their functions to include broader ecological management activities. Again more position papers appeared which announced the new functions of counseling. The major role of counseling centers, however, involved personal counseling. Counseling centers were providing personal counseling more than any other type of service. Students, while rating personal counseling as more appropriate than in the 1960's, still rated vocational counseling as the most appropriate problem for university counselors. Additional research examined the determinants and correlates of students' perceptions, identifying the influence/association of several variables: the name of the counseling center, how much knowledge students had about the center, and the type of presenting problems students' brought to the counseling center. Other research examined how student

perceptions of the counseling center could be modified. More research identified that large numbers of students are unaware of counseling services, and students still seek out their peers most frequently to discuss their problems. In short, throughout the 1970's there seemed to be increased attention to examining students' perceptions of the counseling center's role, which provided some knowledge regarding the etiology and modification of such perceptions.

Discussion

Several conclusions can be drawn from the 45 years of research on the roles and functions of university counseling centers. First, it is clear that many events in the last 45 years have affected the roles and functions of university counseling centers, such as increased student enrollments, a world war, financial support from the Veterans Administration, the space race, federal funding and policies (e.g., National Defense Act), student unrest, reduced student enrollment, and economic inflation. In short, economic, political, and social forces have all affected the development of university counseling centers in a variety of ways. There is no reason to believe that these forces and others will not continue to affect the roles and functions of university counseling centers.

In addition, it is clear that the developments within the counseling psychology profession, such as professional identity, organizational changes, theoretical advances in the field, and changing concepts of professional responsibility, have also influenced the activities of counseling centers. Counseling centers have historically been the laboratories in which counseling psychology as a profession has defined its identity. As the profession has broadened its domain into consultation, outreach, etc., centers also added more and more functions. In the contracting budgets of the 1980s it seems unlikely that many centers

will be able to continue expanding their functions. And with the supply of psychologists exceeding the demand in academia (Astin, 1976) counseling pscyhologists will begin to go elsewhere. Thus, counseling centers will probably cease to be the primary habitat and laboratory for the counseling psychologist. This will bring about further changes in both counseling centers and the profession. For instance, the profession will be impacted by a more diverse group of counseling psychologists, and centers' will be pressed to broaden their training emphasis to include these newer settings. This is not to say that developments within university counseling centers do not also influence the counseling psychology profession. The important point is that the studies reviewed in this paper, when taken as an aggregate, suggest that university counseling centers are directly affected by an array of external, environmental events as well as internal, professional developments.

On the one hand, this implies that planning the future directions of university counseling centers is quite difficult because of the many unknowns of the future environment. Conversely, this conclusion implies that planning for the future could be enhanced by attending more closely to futuristic predictions. Along these lines, Whiteley (1980a) has recently examined the implications of futurology for the counseling psychology profession. Interestingly, Whitely notes that counseling psychology traditionally has been reactive, and that "We have not been required to engage our imaginations in consideration of the future as a first step toward changing our direction of the profession" (p. 3).

Other conclusions which relate to different clusters of studies can be drawn. First, there is ample evidence to suggest that students do indeed have problems (e.g., Houston, 1971; Koile & Bird, 1956; Monks & Heath, 1954; Rust, 1960; Rust & Davie, 1961; Snyder, et al., 1972). Furthermore, evidence would

imply that some students are unable to solve their problems on their own and therefore seek help from others (e.g., Armstrong, 1969; Christensen, et al., 1976; Cole & Ivey, 1967; Donk & Oetting, 1967; Hummers & DeVolder, 1979; Koile & Bird, 1956). It seems clear that there is a need to help students with their problems. The evidence also seems to suggest that the problems creating the most stress or concern for students vary across time and campuses (e.g., Hartman, 1968; Koile & Bird, 1956; Rust, 1960; Rust & Davie, 1961; Smith et al., 1972). The variability in reported student problems may be a function of environmental forces at various times. For example, student anxiety about career planning seems to have increased during the economic recession of 1974 (Kramer, et al., 1974) and males' concern about their future was particularly acute in 1968 during the time of the military draft for the Vietnam War (Hartman, 1968). Or the variability may also be a function of student variables, such as class (e.g., Stone, 1948), sex (e.g., Hartman, 1968), or any of a number of demographic or sociological variables. At this point there is insufficient information to adequately delineate patterns in the variability of the types of stressors creating the most concern in students. Researchers have not investigated the underlying or causal environmental factors that are influencing (at least in part) a range of reported student problems. Research of a more rigorous, programmatic, and longitudinal nature is needed to identify patterns across time, students, and social forces.

The variability in reported student problems may also be a reflection of the non-static nature of the dependent variables as opposed to divergent or contradictory findings. Such a conclusion indicates that it may be necessary to constantly reassess the variables under study, as well as to not assume that

findings from a sample population will generalize to a similar population at a later time. Some discrepant findings, however, may be a function of making faulty inferences from a sample population about the target population (see Bracht & Glass, 1968). This is especially noteworthy when large numbers of the sample population do not respond, or the sample population is not representative of the target population in some way, such as sampling only freshmen and generalizing to all undergraduate students (e.g., Hartman, 1968). In addition, some research suggests that institutional characteristics, such as size (Elton & Rose, 1973), or urban or rural settings (Hudesman, et al., 1976), may also affect the variability on some dependent measures, and thereby confound the generalizability of the results.

The research also consistently indicated over time that students prefer (at least initially) to talk to their peers regarding their problems (e.g., Armstrong, 1969; Christensen, et al., 1976; Cole & Ivey, 1967; Donk & Oetting, 1967; Hummers & DeVolder, 1979). Seeking out a counselor at a university counseling center is not a likely "first choice" for the problem solving student (e.g., Armstrong, 1969; Cole & Ivey, 1967; Donk & Oetting, 1967). The reasons underlying this finding are not well documented in the literature. It also has been consistently reported, however, that many students are unaware of counseling services (e.g., Benedict, et al., 1977; Hudesman, et al., 1976), and have different perceptions of the appropriateness of their problems for a counseling center (e.g., Warman, 1960; Gelso, et al., 1977). As a whole, these findings beg some sort of large scale interventions across institutions, such as training of paraprofessionals (Delworth & Auleep, 1976), modifying students' awareness of the counseling services (e.g., Bigelow, et al., 1968), or modifying students' misperceptions of the function of counseling services (e.g., Gelso & McKenzie, 1973).

Other conclusions that can be made from the research regarding the roles and functions of university counseling centers revolve around the absence of certain research. There have been almost no investigations that have examined the political issues surrounding the counseling centers role within the student affairs and university systems. Several writers, however, have cogently argued the need for such research (e.g., Stubbins, 1973; Warnath, 1971; 1972), but apparently not to much avail. In addition, there has been an absence of investigations which have examined the effects of various political strategies of educating and intervening with institutional administors.

It is also clear from the history of counseling psychology (e.g., Whiteley, 1980b) as well as other professions (Potter, 1967), that social forces affect a profession's development. There has been a lack of research which has examined the affect of various social forces on counseling services within university systems. Not surprisingly, it has been recently observed that counseling centers in American universities are having difficulty managing decline and dealing effectively with financial cutbacks of the 1980's (Frederick, Note 2). Just as counselors help clients gather baseline data and collect information for the problem solving process (Heppner, 1978), an analysis of the interplay of various forces and its past effects may be helpful information in planning and charting new directions for university counseling services. As Stubbins noted in 1973, the counseling literature is replete with technical issues within the activities of counseling, but investigators have not attended to larger philosophical issues. It seems almost futile to reiterate that research from social psychology regarding organizational roles, social class, power, and status may be extremely functional concepts to apply to the role of university counseling centers (Stubbins, 1973).

While the appropriateness ratings of personal adjustment counseling have

increased by counseling psychologists, their is some evidence to suggest the appropriateness ratings for vocational counseling has dropped for this group (Kohlan, 1975). Investigators have attended to both the absolute (Kohlan, 1975) and relatively lower appropriateness ratings (e.g., Resnick & Gelso, 1971; Wilcove & Sharp, 1971) for vocational counseling as well as other data indicating less formal training (Schneider & Gelso, 1972) and interest (Graff & McLean, 1970) in vocational counseling by counseling psychologists. In fact, these findings have led some researchers to conclude that the role of "educational-vocational counseling and related activities in counseling centers is badly in need of reassessment" (Gelso, et al., 1977, p. 347). While the conclusion reached by Gelso, et al., (1977) seems appropriate, it also seems important to consider the increased specialization that has occurred in vocational counseling within some university counseling centers. The counseling service at the University of Missouri is a good case in point. In the academic year 1973-1974, the total number of individual counseling contacts at counseling services was 12,050. The presenting problems were 60% vocational-career, 20% personal-social, and 20% educational. Five years later (1978-1979), 9,402 individual counseling contacts were reported. The presenting problems shifted to 79% personal-social concerns and 19% related to vocational and/or educational problems. One of the reasons for the shift, however, was the development of a Career Planning and Placement Center (CPPC) which now handles most of the vocational-career concerns in an alternative service delivery mode. Current data projections are for 40,000 vocational contacts in CPPC alone for 1979-1980. Thus, in drawing conclusions about the interest and appropriateness of vocational counseling by counseling psychologists, it may be necessary to include in our assessments various specialized agencies such as Career Centers and Learning Centers.

Some evidence also exists which seems to suggest that counseling center staff not only tend to view functions as more appropriate than do faculty or students, but they also perceive their activities as more broad and diverse than do other university groups (e.g., Gelso, et al., 1977; Heppner, et al., in review). Such differences in perceptions raise important questions regarding collaboration and consultation with other groups, defining the domain of counseling center functions, and the possible need to negotiate with or to actively persuade student affairs colleagues, faculty, and/or students of the appropriateness of functions. Several writers have labeled the differential perceptions of the appropriateness of various functions as a "communication gap" (e.g., Gelso, et al., 1977; Warman, 1960). Alternatively, the discrepant appropriateness ratings could be a function of a values gap, implying that various groups are cognizant of counseling center functions, but value them differently. Another possible interpretation is that there may be overlap in areas of professional expertise between counseling center staff and other professional staff such that other professional groups may rate as less appropriate for the counseling center those functions which they believe are their own.

One other pattern in the literature deserves attention. In 1971 Warnath maintained that the services provided by university counseling centers are only minimally affected by the counseling literature. Changes in the role of the university counseling centers were "not motivated merely by theoretical and idealistic considerations . . . ." (p. 49), but rather the economic cutbacks of the early 1970's. Several writers have observed that services provided to students seems to be more a function of staff interests than student needs (e.g., Frederick, Note 2; Warnath, 1971). While there are a multitude of articles which describe various needs assessments of students, there is an absence of programmatic, longitudinal research of students' needs, programmatic interventions,

and subsequent outcomes. There is also little evidence to suggest that choices made regarding the role of university counseling centers are based on previous research in the field, despite as Rose (1973) points out the inception of such ideas began over a decade ago (Berdie, 1966; Katz, 1968; Sanford, 1962).

One might legitimately wonder why the professional literature seems to not have had much of an impact on professionals in the field. Some writers have attributed the lack of transfer to the lack of generalizability of the research, labeling the research as "theoretical and ideal" (Warnath, 1971, p. ix). Warnath (1971) also maintains that the training of counseling psychologists does not prepare them to deal with the realities of university counseling centers. Other writers have noted that relatively few counseling psychologists are providing direct service, they tend to move out of counseling into teaching and administration (Thoreson & Krauskopf, 1973). Whatever the reasons, it seems appropriate to treat the relatively few applications of counseling research as a research problem, and attempt to empirically provide some answers.

Finally, there seems to be little evidence that research data is used to proactively plan interventions for student needs across various university counseling centers. Important and useful data which have implications for counseling services in higher education is available. Consider, for example, the changing composition of college and university bodies. The data indicates that the pool of traditional 18 year old college freshmen is shrinking due to the reduced birthrate of the 1960's; between 1975 and 1985 the projected population of 18 year olds will decline by 12% (Henderson, 1977). Enrollments in 1985 are expected, however, to increase 19% over the 1975 enrollments to include 13.4 million students in higher education (Frankel & Harrison, 1977). The increased

enrollment will include more adults, particularly women. The number of older students entering college is increasing at three times the rate of traditional age students; currently more than one-third of all college students are over 25 and 11 million are over 35 (Henderson, 1977). The number of women over 30 who are enrolled in college has doubled in the last 10 years (Smallwood, 1980), and projected 1985 enrollment of women in higher education will increase by 20 percent over that in 1975 (compared to 12 percent among men) (Frankel & Harrison, 1977). With this new diversity on college campuses, counseling centers will need to attend to issues which have not often been part of their domain. Golladay (1977) reported that part-time enrollment increased between 1970 and 1975, and projections indicate a 41 percent increase in part-time enrollments (compared to a 6 percent increase for full-time) between 1975 and 1985 (Frankel & Harrison, 1977). Another segment of the population which may soon be calling upon campus service agencies are adults in career transition. Arbeiter, Aslanian, Schmerbeck and Brickell (1978) conclude that some 40 million Americans, 36 percent of the nonstudent population between the ages of 16 and 65 are in career transition. Sixty-two percent of these adults plan to seek additional education as part of their change in field or level within their present fields, and most of them want career services of all types. However, with the expansion of counseling center roles, there is some evidence that vocational counseling is less central and appropriate for university counselors (Gelso, et al., 1977; Graff & McLean, 1970; Graff, Rague & Danish, 1974; Schneider & Gelso, 1972). In short, the composition of university student bodies have changed in recent years and promises to continue changing in the future which undoubtedly will

affect the role and functions of counseling services. It is questionable whether traditional counseling roles and functions can adequately serve the needs of these future students.

In summary, the roles and functions of university counseling centers have changed in the last 45 years. Changes have been a result of many factors, such as changes in professional organizations, theoretical and methodological advances in the field of counseling psychology, outside funding from the VA, changing student demands, social forces of the 1960's, and economic difficulties of the 1970's. The utility of a wide range of counseling services is well established; the manner in which the future roles and functions of counseling services in higher education are determined, however, is yet to be determined.

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